

laTkoum" (May the greeting be on you!). Silently he holds his hand out to the woman in the Tuareg manner (that is to say, holding his hand /8/ out open flat and sliding it over the open hand of the woman), and he sits down, saying: "iselane" (What news?). If the woman answers: "elouane" (There is a lot), he begins to pay his court. The Tuareg are not very religious, and it sometimes happens that the woman asks such questions as: "Whom do you love more, God or me?"

The songs begin, and the imz'aden play the accompaniment. The men sing in snatches lines that they have composed on the charms of the ladies of their dreams, the feats that they have done, the raids in which they have taken part, or else satires on their enemies. The women extol courage. In general, a noble woman does not sing, but only plays the amz'ad.

There are three musical rhythms:

The "seyenine" /1 1/2 ⊙ rhythm, lively and quite fast, used among the Kel R'ela and the Ta'ttoq.

The "ahinena" /1 1/2 ⊙ rhythm, slow and drawn out like a chant, used especially among the Kel R'ela.

The "asaheh" ⊙ ⊙ ⊙ rhythm, used among the Tuareg of the Azdjer /Azjer/ confederation.

Then there are simple games. The women elect a "sultana," or queen; the men a "sultan," or king, who will inflict the punishments incurred and will set the fines to be paid. It is a context of wits. A man must be able to answer the questions asked. If, for example, to this question: "Whom do you like better, this one or that one?", he answers: "I prefer this one," he would be booed, would incur a punishment or pay a fine, and the woman who is preferred would be ridiculed by her companions, for one must not show preference openly but must answer, "I like them both."

Another kind of question: "What would you do if you found yourself in the following situation: /9/

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"Tamott tekness"Eheré iouof"Tathett ter'tess"Tir'irt touoss"524
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which means:

The woman who argues.

Flocks that scatter.

The she-ass that breaks her tether.

The pot that tips over.

In a joking way, to be a real wit, the man could answer:
"If I should find myself in this situation, I would first gather the flock, I would re-tether the ass, I would put the pot back on the fire, and only then would I pay attention to the woman," and there would be a chorus of indignant protests.

The woman makes it a point of honor to have as many admirers as possible. This is a proof that she is pretty and will not have trouble in getting married.

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The ahal, begun after sunset, lasts quite late into the night, and the pale light that is shed by the stars allows shamelessness to have free rein. Although the married women joke and take part in the games, they behave themselves comparatively well. The others, however, may sit on the knees of their admirers. They kiss, but in a special way. Since the man must never uncover his mouth, he lowers his veil under his nose, and he piously smells the nose! of his loved one, who herself may kiss him. Even intimate handling (proh pudor! /oh, shame/) is allowed, which is never seen among the Arabs.

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During these gatherings, when the amz'ad is played, it is listened to with great pleasure. This instrument has a way of exciting /10/ the Tuareg, who utter "Ouh! ouh!" as a sign of pleasure. They have even made a verb of it: isouhouh. [201]

But now is the time when the camels come from the pasture. They must be milked: that is the az'ouz'edj'i'##. (from ez'edj'i'##, to milk). The women get up, and those present are given milk to drink. They will have to disperse. [272]

Chapter X

Games

Children play a game with a ball, "tekerikera". $0 \cdot 0 \cdot +$, 526
which they hit with curved sticks /20/ ("iggaten tekerikera, " 857
they hit the ball). Two camps are formed and the ball must be
made to go into the opposing camp.

But their greatest amusement is to make out of clay little 524
sticks and stones, all kinds of animals and people, which they call 532
"isounar" $0 \mid \odot$. Thus they make a mehari with its saddle, 857
a camel with its young, a horse, etc., or they may make a mehari
with a man on it, "aknar" $0 \mid \cdot$, or a woman in her bassour,
"taknart" $\odot \mid \cdot +$; here are a bride and groom. These young
sculptors, it seems, are very skillful.

Sometimes they hang a swing, "taoulioula". $\parallel \cdot \parallel \cdot +$, on a 524
tree. 857



Armed Conflict between Aziouel and Tacha
(Ta'toq Tuareg) (First Stage)

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Camel Vocabulary

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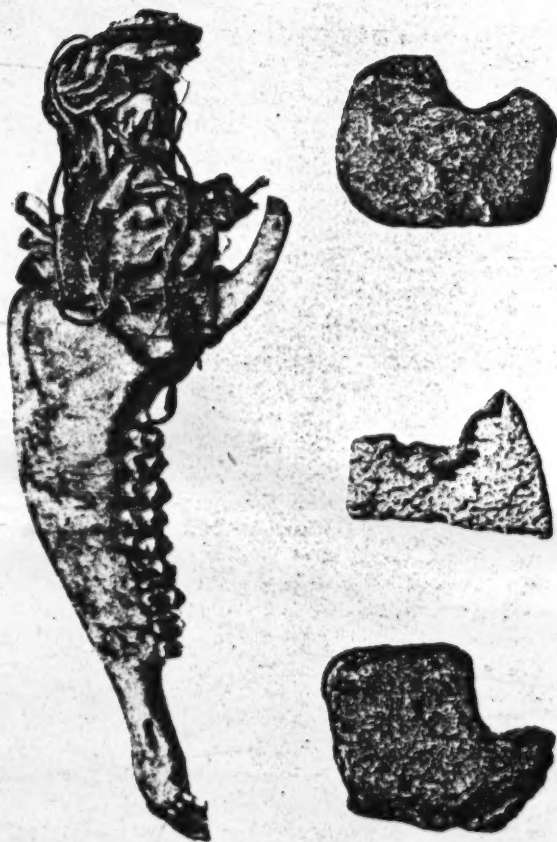


Fig. 79a-d. Children's toy camels. a. Jaw-bone of goat provided with saddle and rider. It is known as *aknor n emis*. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Abalessa. (N.M. G. 3914).

b-d. Three roughly-cut stones used as toy camels by Tuareg children. Ahaggar, the *Kei Akner* tribe. Dimensions: 0.067, 0.063, and 0.073 m. (N.M. G. 6604 b, d, a).

233 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for
 583 brothers and sisters-in-law.
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233 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman
 436 permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a
 593 woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to
 431 her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children
 584 to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery
 604 is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer; while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However,
 643 these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukul*.
 1803 For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the
 payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same
 233 payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at
 436 a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred
 682 camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels
 to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours
 as follows:—

Age	Colour
10 <i>tilgad</i> , or <i>chét awétuy</i> (one year old)	10 <i>tibeydegin</i> (white)
10 <i>tilusin</i> (2 years old)	10 <i>titlarin</i> (mahogany)
10 <i>tekkenfadden</i> (3 years old)	10 <i>tizeggerin</i> (reddish)
10 <i>tiruyar</i> (4 years old)	10 <i>tibhawin</i> (reddish brown)
10 <i>chét essin</i> (5 years old)	10 <i>tilemlarin</i> (grey)
10 <i>chét okko;</i> (6 years old)	10 <i>tizerifin</i> (metallic grey)
10 <i>timesseqas</i> (7 years old)	10 <i>timengelin</i> (dark grey)
10 <i>chét tahalt</i> (8 years old)	10 <i>tikewelin</i> (black)
20 <i>tiregganin</i> (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old)	10 <i>tizerqafin</i> (piebald)
	10 <i>tiwinarin</i> (white cornea)

233 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain aesthetic value,
 822 and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours.

* 1492 This is the case with the present *Amenukul* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty
 643 camels trained for riding.

233 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd
 852 goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic
 565 animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats
 524 (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b-d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-
 232 camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or
 329 four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and
 669 all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate
 181 knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

Interest in Camels

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Fig. 80. Tuareg boy
with his toy camels of
cut stones. Ahaggar, the
Kel Ahnet tribe.



Fig. 81. Tuareg boy
playing camel-riding on
a rock. Ahaggar, the
Kel Ahnet tribe.



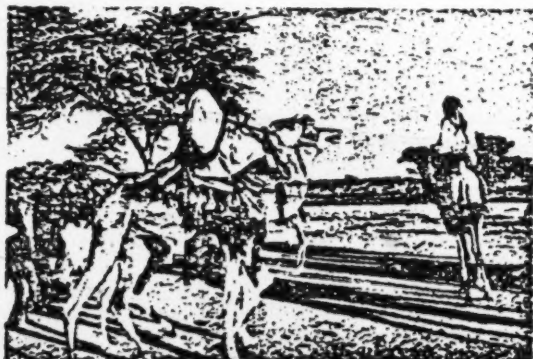


Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afegay* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *hyawlen*.

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Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

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Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16-18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

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In a ceremonial ride termed *shoton* (*slugan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

Hunting Methods in Ayr . Bow and Arrows

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catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Mekkeren. The method is not used 224
for proper game animals.

(7) A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *turunt*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*tawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*turunt*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbar*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and 223
other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the 257
negroid *Imeggadezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118).

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tangak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of 262
game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *arata* lizard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzeram*, in Ayr as *emekkechchu* (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizards do not play any part in Tuareg mythology - the *arata* lizard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks, whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*afaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*tahwalt* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or 252
are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is 232
very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty.

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper 411
hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not. 119

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allar*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*telek*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with this weapon.

The bow (*Ahaggar*, *tarayyé* or *tagahhé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (*Ahaggar*, *imurren*, sing. *amor*, *ortinassabin*, sing. *tanassabt*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays 524
very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by

[Text continues on p. 169]

411 p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *dfezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals - there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

224 Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. To-day true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Timgak* or *Imedkeraren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals within two hunting territories where barbery sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

Age	Male	Female
Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . .	<i>awhim</i>	<i>tawhimt</i>
Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . .	<i>ahyar</i>	<i>tahyart</i>
Fully grown animal	<i>ahenkoj</i>	<i>tahenkoj</i>

224 Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—

754 (1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's
777 nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

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Fig. 234. Photograph illustrating the Tuareg cotton shirt open (left) and closed (right). The two Tuareg are playing a sort of draughts called *keraf*. Ahaggar, the *Agah-en-terhd* tribe.

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294 with an opening for the head, and folded and sewn together at the lower part of the sides. The folded piece of cotton may also be united at its lower parts by the insertion of a trapeze-like piece of cotton known as *tebanik*. The cotton shirt worn by most Tuareg men in Ayr is known as *teketket*, and is of the same poncho cut as the shirts mentioned above from Ahaggar.

All Tuareg men wear large and wide cotton trousers known as *ékerbey*. The cut of these trousers is the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A pair of trousers I wore when among the Ayr Tuareg is 1.10 m wide at the waist where they have a channel for the insertion of a leather cord (*tamennali*) by means of which the trousers are laced up. The total length of the trouser legs is 1.06 m, so that the width is a little larger than the length. The trousers are sewn from three pieces of cotton. They consist of a front and back piece identically cut and sewn together at the sides; a third piece of cotton is inserted between the legs (Fig. 236).

291 The trousers are extremely large and loose. They are well-suited not only for the hot desert climate but also for camel riding. The Tuareg sometimes pull their trousers up over the knees so that they are entirely bare-legged. They do this, for instance, when they water domestic animals from wells and in various other situations where long trousers are embarrassing. But they will never pull up their trousers in presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) or in the presence of parents-in-law (particularly mothers-in-law). For it is extremely shameful for a man to show himself bare-legged to persons to whom he must also not show his mouth, and the Tuareg express this fact by saying that "the veil and the trousers are brothers". In general, young boys wear a shirt of poncho type, in addition to which many of them also wear a leather loin-cloth (*argag* in Ahaggar) made of goat skin. Such loin-cloths are attached around the waist and drawn between the legs. They are worn by certain vassal boys and by young slaves almost up to the time of initiation and veil adoption, and trousers may be adopted at the same time as the veil. It seems as if the loin-cloth has also once been a traditional garment of grown men, for Rodd states that they sometimes wear a tanned skin around the loins below the trousers - more especially in bush country where burr grass is very prevalent (Rodd 1926a, p. 164).

[Text continues on p. 292]